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Scent, sent; *sceptic*, skeptic [?]; *scimitar*, cimitar [no]; *scissors*, cissors [no]; *scythe*, sithe.

With *skeptic* compare *skeleton*; *scissors* has no connection with *scindere*. [Better not hasten to give the sound of *s*.]

tch. The *t* is unetymological, and is not more required in *witch* than in *which*. It should be dropped everywhere, which can be done without causing ambiguity:

Catch, cach; *catches*, caches; *fetch*; *fetching*; *notch*; *pitch*; *witch*.

w is unetymological in *whole* (O. E. *hál*; cf. *heal*).

Whole, hole.

APPENDIX.

The following changes were advocated by so large a majority that it was thought advisable to include them among the immediate reforms, but to relegate them to an appendix, as being inconsistent with the principle of etymological limitation.

gh. Substitute *f* for *gh* where so pronounced, as has already been done in *draft* (in one of its meanings) and *dwarf*:

Chough, chuf; *cough*, cof; *draught*, draft; *enough*, enuf; *laugh*, laf; *laughter*, lafter; *rough*, ruf; *slough*, sluf; *tough*, tuf; *trough*, trof.

The vowels in these words have but little historical value. The *u* in most of them, such as *cough*, *laugh*, *trough*, is not original; cf. O. E. *cohhetan*, *hlühhan*, *trog*; *enough*, *tough* = O. E. *genóh*, *tóh* *rough* = *rúh*.

ph. If *f* were substituted for *ph* everywhere, as in Italian, Spanish, and the Scandinavian languages, a letter would be saved, and etymology would not be appreciably obscured:

Blaspheme, blasfeme; *camphor*, camfor; *phantasm*, fantasm; *philosophy*, philosophy; *photograph*, fotograf; *sphere*, sfere.

With *phantasm* cf. *fancy*.

IV. — History of the *a*-Vowel from Old Germanic to Modern English.

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THE subject of this paper is the history of the sound *a* in English accented syllables from the separation of the Germanic tribes till the present time. It will show both from what sounds *a* came, and

what sounds came from *a*. This growth can be most clearly seen by comparing with one another a series of stages in the history of the language. The origin and development of the Old Germanic *a* will first claim attention. For this Fick is the best, though sometimes an unreliable, authority. Any word that is common to the Old English and the East Germanic dialects, Gothic and Old Norse, may be regarded as within our scope ; so, too, words which, though they may not occur in East Germanic, are found in Pre-Germanic dialects. Second, the Old English, in which I have used the normalized spelling of the time of Alfred, and the accentuation of Zupitza. The poetry and earlier prose only have been considered. Third, the Middle English at its rise, as it appears in the Ormulum, for which I have used my own manuscript grammar of the Ormulum in the Harvard College Library. Fourth, the English of our own time. Here I have followed Brücke in the phonetic analysis, and Webster in pronunciation.

The following abbreviations have been used : o.g., for Old Germanic ; g., for Gothic ; o.n., for Old Norse ; o.h.g., for Old High German ; o.s., for Old Saxon ; o.e., for Old English ; m.e., for Middle English ; n.e., for New English.

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I. THE OLD GERMANIC *a*.

A. — Its Origin. There seem to have been two *a* sounds in Indo-Germanic, each with a distinct ablaut, which, in Greek, appeared as *ā*, *a* and *o*, *ε*. The third step, or vanishing of *a*, was usually filled by svarabhakti, or in other ways. But while the two ablauts were so sharply distinguished in Greek, the second vowel of the first (*a*) and the first of the second (*o*) became identical in O.G., and remained so in O.E., where the first ablaut appears in *fōr*, *farān*, *furt*, and the second in *singan*, *sang*, *sungon*. But while the O.G. *a* had thus a wider range than any Indo-Germanic vowel, its sphere was encroached upon by lengthening of *a*-final and by the influence of nasals, liquids, and epenthesis, which caused some confusion in the ablauts. This subject has been exhaustively treated by Johannes Schmidt in his *Vocalismus*, and may be passed over here.

B. — Its Development in O.E. From the O.G. period till the eighth century we know little of the language of our ancestors; but with the very beginning of their literature we note a most remarkable change; *a* has become almost an uncommon sound, while the O.G. vowel is represented by no less than seventeen sounds, or groups of sounds. Seven causes led to this result: 1. tone-lowering; 2. lengthening in auslaut; 3. tone-raising; 4. breaking; 5. contraction; 6. umlaut; 7. the palatalizing of preceding consonants. This was the order in which they acted, although the changes often overlapped one another; and in this order, therefore, I will consider them.

1. Tone-lowering. While the O.G. *a* was of the Italian type, the O.E. *a* had a deeper sound, as in the N.E. path. We may suppose that all *a*'s were subject to this change; but it has survived only before nasals, and before single consonants followed by *a*, *o*, *u* or followed by a vowel derived from these.

In the following list of words with O.E. *a* corresponding to O.G. *a*, I give first the O.E. word, then the East Germanic word, which gives it its claim to be considered O.G., and, lastly, the page of the third volume of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indo-Germanischen Sprachen* (3d edition), where these and other cognate words may be found.

The strong verbs are classified according to the vowel of the preterit singular in Old Germanic. Class I. had pret. sing. *a* followed (a) by a mute or fricative, (b) by a nasal or liquid, (c) by

two consonants ; II. pret. sing. *ai* ; III. pret. sing. *au* ; IV. pret. sing. *ō* ; V. pret. sing. formed by reduplication.

The letters *æ* stand for the short vowel sound of *a* in *hat*. The sound should be printed *æ*. The corresponding long sound is printed *ǣ*.

Before *n* :

anda, O.N. andi, 14.
 anga, G. -agga, 11.
 bana, O.N. bani, 196.
 blanca, O.N. blakki, 221.
 brand, O.N. brandr, 205.
 brant, O.N. brattr, 216.
 cran, O.H.G. cranuh.¹
 cranc, O.N. krankr, 49.
 grandor-, O.N. grand, 109.
 hana, G. hana, 61.
 hand, G. handus, 61.
 lang, O.N. langr, 264.
 mann, G. manna, O.N. maðr, 229.
 manian, O.H.G. manēn.²
 rand, O.N. rōnd, 246.
 sand, O.N. sandr, 319.
 scanca, O.N. in skenkja, 330.
 spana, O.N. speni with umlaut, 353.
 standan, G. standan, 340.
 stange, O.N. stōng, 344.
 strang, O.N. strangr, 348.
 tang, O.N. tōng, 116.
 þrang, O.N. þrōngr, 139.
 wang, O.N. vāngr, 288.
 wanian, O.N. vana, 279.
 And in the 1st and 3d sing. pret. of verbs of class I.c.
 band, G. band, 200.
 brann, G. brann, 205.
 cann, G. kann, 40.
 dranc, G. dragk, 153.
 fand, G. fanþ, 172.
 gann, G. -gann, 98.
 hrand, O.N. hrätt, 83.
 lann, G. -lann, 263.
 rann, G. rann, 251.
 sanc, G. sagq, 318.

¹ Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G. ; cf. Lithuanian *garny-s*, 43.

² Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G. ; cf. Latin *monēo*, 230.

sang, G. saggv, O.N. sōng, 316.
 slang, O.N. slōng, 359.
 spann, G. spann, 353.
 sprang, O.N. sprakk, 356.
 stanc, O.N. stōkk, G. -stagq, 343.
 wand, G. -vand, 285.
 wann, G. vann, 286.

Before *m* :

camb, O.N. cambr, 41.
 fram, O.N. fram, G. fram, 177.
 gamen, O.N. gaman, 101.
 gamol, O.N. gamall, 101.
 gram, O.N. gramr, 110.
 ham, O.N. hamr, 64.
 hama, O.N. hami, 64.
 hamelian, O.N. hamla, 65.
 hamm, O.H.G. hamma.³
 hamor, O.N. hamarr, 64.
 hwam, O.N. hvammr, 92.
 lama, O.N. lama, 267.
 scamu, O.N. skōmm, 332.
 nama, G. namō, 161.
 tam, O.N. tamr, 117.
 wamb, G. vamba, 290.
 And in the 1st and 3d sing. pret. of verbs of class I.b and c.
 cwam, G. qam, 53.
 nam, G. nam, 160.
 swamm, O.N. svamm, 362.

Before a consonant + *a* in O.E. :

acan, O.N. aka, 8.
 apa, O.N. api, 18.
 alan, O.N. ala, 26.
 bacan, O.N. baka, 197.
 -dafen-, G. -dabans, 144.
 -daga, O.N. -dagi, 144.
 dragan, O.N. draga, 152.
 faran, O.N. fara, 173.

³ Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G. ; cf. Greek *κνήμη*, 65.

hara, O.H.G. hasa.⁴
 galan, O.N. gala, 104.
 gnagan, O.N. gnaga, 159.
 grafan, O.N. grafa, 109.
 hlada, O.N. hlaða, 87.
 maða, G. maþa, 224.
 maga, O.N. magi, 227.
 mara, O.N. mara, 232.
 naca, O.N. nökkvi, 157.
 sacan, G. sakan, 314.
 scacan, O.N. skaka, 329.
 scafan, O.N. skafa, 331.
 scaðan, G. skapjan, 330.
 tacan, O.N. taka, 115.
 wacan, O.N. vaka, 280.
 wadan, O.N. vaða, 285.
 waras, O.N. verjar.⁵

Before a consonant + *o* in O.E.:

afor, O.N. afar, 19.
 alor, O.N. ölr, 27.
 atol, O.N. atall, 14.
 daroð, O.N. darraðr, 146.
 hafoc, O.N. haukr, O.H.G. habuh, 64.
 hafola.⁶
 hagol (also haegl), O.N. hagl, 60.

⁴ Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; cf. Skt. *ṣaṣa*, 73.

⁵ Cf. the Lat. -varii in German proper names; for instance, Angri-varii, 291.

⁶ Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; cf. κεφαλή, Skt. kapāla, 62.

gafol, O.N. gafl, O.H.G. gabala, 100.
 lago, O.N. lögr, 262.
 sadol, O.N. söðull, 318.

Before a consonant + *u* in O.E.:

apulder, O.N. apaldr, 18.
 cwalu, O.N. kvöl, 54.
 faru, O.N. för, 174.
 hasu, O.N. höss, 74.
 lagu, O.N. lög, 261.
 nafu, O.H.G. nabo.⁷
 talu, O.N. tal, O.S. tala, 120.
 þracu, O.N. þrekr with umlaut, 138.
 walu, O.N. völr, G. valus, 297.

Before a consonant + *-ia-* for older *-ai-* or *-ē-* in weak verbs.

hatian, G. hatan, O.N. hata, 60.
 lapian, O.N. leþja, M.H.G. leffen with umlaut, 266.
 laþian, G. laþōn, O.N. laða, 263.
 sparian, O.N. spara, 354.

Before a consonant + *e* for older *a* or *u*.

hacele, G. hakuli, O.N. hökull, 58.
 nafela, O.N. nafli, O.H.G. nabalo, cf. δμφα-
 λός, 160.

⁷ Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; cf. Lettish naba, 160.

In comparison, declension, and conjugation, *a* takes the place of O.G. *a* after a single consonant followed by the endings -a, -as, -ode, -or, -on, -ost, -u, -um; -e for G. -ō, -ai; -ena for G. -ōnō; -ende for G. -and. Thus daga, dagas, dagum, from daeg; fatu, fatena, but faet; macode; magon, but maeg; hraðe, hraðor, hraðost, but hraeð; farende, fare, for G. farands, farai. Before an O.E. *e* there is some vacillation even in early documents.

Except in these cases *a* is rare in O.E. The only other cases of O.G. *a* with this sound in O.E. which are known to me are:

asce,⁸ O.N. askr, 29.
 wag,⁹ G. vaddjus, 302.

⁸ Also axe and aesc.

⁹ Also wah and waeg.

scralletan,¹⁰ O.N. skröllta, 339.
 ac (also oc), G. ak.

¹⁰ Twice in poetry, Grein, *Gloss.* ii. 411.

And in the following cases in words confined to prose :

af- also aef-, G. af-, 18.

crabba,¹¹ O.N. krabbi, O.H.G. chrepazo, 50.

sal,¹² O.N. salr, masculine, 320.

¹¹ The etymological spelling would be with one *b* ; hence *a* for *ae*.

¹² Neut., also sael masc. and sele fem.

wascan,¹³ O.N. vaska, 301.

To these Fick adds four others unknown to me in O.E. :

clappan, O.N. klappa, O.H.G. chlaphōn, lappa, O.N. lappi, 266 ; cf. *λοβός*. [51. flat, O.N. flatr, 194.

wase, O.H.G. waso, O.N. vos, 301.

¹³ Poetry has *waesced* once. Grein, *Gloss.* ii. 641.

Occasionally *a* is found for *éa* and *æ*, but this has no historic importance ; thus, all for éall, al for ael, and the like.

Before nasals an *a* may appear as *o* ; for instance, monn, hond, nom, for and with mann, hand, nam. This occurs in a few other words also.

oc (also ac), G. ak, O.H.G. oh.
of (also af-, aef-), G. af, 18.

nosu (also naes), O.N. nös, O.H.G. nasa,
rodor, O.N. röðull, O.S. radar. [162.

In the O.E. words not certainly O.G., the same principles govern the use of *a*, and vacillations are equally uncommon.

2. Lengthening of final *a*. The beginning of this process is Pre-Germanic, but it survived the discarding of final consonants in West Germanic. The Germanic instances are :

bā, G. ba, 196.

swā, G. swa, 360.

hwā, G. hwas, 90.

twā, G. twa, 126.

When the word was not accented, it was not lengthened, but the vowel *a* became *e*. Thus the conjunction *ge*, G. ja-h, O.S. ja 243.

3. Tone-raising changed an O.G. *a* to *æ* before single final mutes or fricatives, except *w*, *h*, and before groups of double consonants except those beginning with *h*, *r*, *l*, and also before single consonants followed by *a* whenever this was reduced to *e* before the tone-raising tendency ceased. It is occasionally used for and with the umlaut *e* ; for instance, *gaest* or *gest*, G. *gasti-* ; *faered* or *ferð*, G. *fariþ*. The occasional use of *a* for *æ* has been already spoken of. Kentish glosses write *e* for *æ*.

The following O.G. words have *æ* in O.E. :

Before mutes :

haep, O.N. happ, 62.

aepl, O.N. apal-grār, 18.

haebban, G. haban ; stem habai, 62.

aet, G. at, O.H.G. az, 13.

faet, O.N. fat, 171.

faet, O.N. fet, 171.

haett, O.N. hattr, 60.

hwaet, O.N. hvatr, 91.

waeter,¹⁴ O.H.G. wazar.

¹⁴ Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G. ; cf. *Skt. udra*, 284.

blaed, O.N. blað, 219.
 glaed, O.N. glaðr, 112.
 waed, O.N. vað, 285.
 blaedre, O.N. blaðra, 219.
 faeder, O.N. faðir, G. fadar, 167.
 gaedeling,¹⁵ G. gadiliggs, 98.
 naedre, O.N. naðr, 156.
 baec, O.N. bak, 198.
 blaec, O.N. blakkr, 221.
 -braec, O.N. brak, 215.
 laec, O.N. lakr, 261.
 wlaec,¹⁶ O.H.G. welc.
 wraec, G. vraks, 308.
 aecer, G. akrs, 8.
 aecern, O.N. akarn, G. akrana, 8.
 waecnian, O.N. vakna, 281.
 aeg, O.N. egg, O.H.G. ei, 13.
 daeg, O.N. dagr, 143.
 waeg, G. vaddjus, O.N. veggr, 3² 2.
 faegn, O.N. feginn, 170.
 faegr, O.N. fagr, G. fagrs, 170.
 haegl, also hagal, O.N. hagi, 60.
 maegn, O.N. magn, 227.
 maegr, O.N. magr, 228.
 naegl, O.N. nagl, 159.
 waegn, O.N. vagn, 283.

Before fricatives :

baeð, O.N. bað, 197.
 hraeð, O.N. hraðr, 82.
 faeðm, O.N. faðmr, 173.
 maðel, G. maþla-, O.N. māl, 229.
 glaes, O.N. gler-, 104.
 graes, O.N. gras, 110.
 naes, O.N. nös, 162.
 hwaes, O.N. hvass, 92.
 aesc, O.N. askr, 29.
 baest, O.N. bast, 200.
 draeste,¹⁷ O.H.G. trestir.
 faest, O.N. fastr, 171.
 hlaest, O.N. hlæss, 87.
 maest, O.N. mastr, 237.
 raesn, G. razn, 246.
 aef, G. af, 18.

¹⁵ M.H.G. geteline with umlaut.

¹⁶ Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G. ; cf. Church Slavonic vlagā, 298.

¹⁷ Not East-Germanic, but certainly O.G. ; cf. Church Slavonic, droštija, 154.

haef, O.N. haf, 63.
 staef, O.N. stafr, 345.
 graeft, O.N. gröpfr, 109.
 haefr, O.N. hafr, 62.
 haeft, O.N. hapfr, 63.
 hraefn, O.N. hrafn, 83.
 þraeft, O.N. þrapt, 139.
 waefre, O.N. vafr-logi, 289.

Before liquids :

ael, O.N. alr, 28.
 hwael, O.N. hvalr, 93.
 wael, O.N. valr, 297.
 aerende, O.N. örendi, O.H.G. arunti, 21.
 faer, O.N. far, 174.
 spaer, O.N. sparr, 354.
 waer, O.N. vör, 292.

Further :

In the 1st and 3rd pret. sing. of strong verbs, class I., except where the vowel is followed by a nasal or liquid :
 gaet, also geát, G. bi-gat, 98.
 maet, G. mat, 223.
 saet, G. sat, 316.
 baed, G. bad, 200.
 traed, O.N. trað, 125.
 braec, G. brak, 215.
 raec,¹⁸
 spraec,¹⁹
 wraec, G. vrak, 308.
 laeg, G. lag, 261.
 waeg, G. vag, 282.
 gaef, also geáf, G. gab, 100.
 swaef, O.N. svaf, 361.
 waef, O.N. vaf or öf, 289.
 cwaed, G. qap, 53.
 laes, O.N. las, 267.
 naes, G. -nas, 161.
 waes, G. vas, 300.
 stael, G. stal, 347.
 baer, G. bar, 202.
 scaer, O.N. skar, 332.
 taer, G. -tar, 118.
 baerst, O.N. brast, 217.

¹⁸ The preterit does not occur in East-Germanic, cf. G. rakjan.

¹⁹ Not East-Germanic, but cf. Lithuanian spragū.

braegd, O.N. brā, 215.
fraegn, G. frah, O.N. frā, 189.

Residua :

In the passive participle of some verbs of class IV., for and with *a*. For instance: hlaedan, also hladen, O.N. hlað-inn; flaegen, also flagen, O.N. fleginn; slaegen, also slagen, O.N. sleginn.

We find *ae* where we should expect umlaut in aelf, usually elf, O.N. älfr, M.H.G. alp without umlaut, 28. aeled, O.N. eldr, 27; *cf.* also aelan, which is not O.G., but is a cognate word.

haele, O.N. halr, 69. The vowel corresponds, however, to the original *a*-stem; the ending to a new *ja*-stem. *cf.* the derivative haeled.

Umlaut would not be irregular in the following words from the principal list: aeg, waeg, wlaec, faet, gaedeling, draeste.

We find *ae* where we should expect breaking, with or without umlaut, in haerfest, O.N. haust, N.H.G. herbst, 68, haern, O.N. hrönn, O.H.G. harn, 68; baelg (also bylig), only in prose, G. balgi-, 208.

The use of *ae* in words not certainly O.G. follows the same principles which govern the O.G. words.

4. Breaking of *a* to *éa* occurs before O.G. *r*, *l*, *h* followed by a consonant, before *h*, and occasionally before a mute followed by *o* or *u*. The breaking appears as *ēa* before *w*, and as *i* in some cases before *ht*. The breaking is due to an *u*-sound, which was either present in the following syllable or was produced from *l*, *r*, or *h*, by svarabhakti. This development is common to most Indo-European languages.* The vowel thus formed changed its position, and became affixed to the preceding vowel, producing *a*^u from *a*, which was raised to *éa* by the same tendency that produced *ae* from *a*. In a few cases, however, the tone-raising has not been completed, and we find *éo* for *éa*. All these have the regular forms in *éa* except réord, G. razda, 252, and éornest, superlative to G. arni-, O.N. ern with umlaut. The breaking is sometimes spelled *e* in the Mss., and *ae* in Kentish and Northumbrian.

Breaking occurs in the following O.G. words :

With mutes :

béadu, O.N. böð, 196.
éatol, also atol, O.N. atall, 14.
téagor, also tēar, G. tagr, O.N. tār, 115.

With fricatives :

éafora, O.S. abharo.²⁰
héafoc, O.N. haukr, 64.

héafola, certainly O.G.; *cf.* κεφαλή and Skt. kapāla, 62.
héafod, O.N. höfuð, 62.
héasu, usually hasu, O.N. höss, 74.
héaðor, certainly O.G.; *cf.* κότυλος, 61.
héaðu, O.N. Höðr, 60.

With liquid + consonant :

déared, also darod, O.N. darraðr, 146.
déar, G. ga-dars, 145.
héarpe, O.N. harpa, 68.

²⁰ Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Old Baktrian apara, 19.

* See Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II.; Braune, *Quantität der Endsilben*; Paul und Braune, *Beiträge*, VI. 46 ff.

wéarp, O.N. varp, 295.
 swéart, O.N. svartr, 362.
 béard, O.H.G. bart, certainly O.G.; *cf.*
 Church Slavonic, brada, 207.
 géard, O.N. garðr, G. gards, 102.
 héard, O.N. harðr, 68.
 méarc, O.N. mörk, G. marka, 233.
 héarg, O.N. hörgr, 67.
 méarg, O.N. mergr, O.H.G. marg, 236.
 éarfoð, G. arbaifs, O.N. erfiðr, 25.
 þearfu, O.N. þörf, 132.
 cnéar, O.N. knörr, 48.
 éaru, O.N. örr, 21.
 géaru, O.N. görr, 102.
 spéarwa, also spéara, O.N. spörr, G.
 sparva, 354.
 éarh, O.N. ör; *cf.* G. arhvazna, 24.
 féarh, O.H.G. farh.²¹
 méarh, O.N. marr, O.H.G. marah, 234.
 céarl, also céorl, O.N. karl, 43.
 béarm, O.N. barmr, 203.
 éarm, O.N. armr, 22.
 féarm, also féorm, O.N. farmr, 174.
 héarm, O.N. harmr, 69.
 þéarm, O.N. þarmr, 131.
 wéarm, O.N. varmr, 292.
 béarn, O.N. barn, G. barn, 202.
 éarn, O.N. örn, 21.
 géarn, G. garn, 101.
 scéarn, O.N. skarn, 333.
 wéarn, O.N. vörn, 291.
 héalt, O.N. haltr, G. halts, 72.
 méalt, O.N. malt, 236.
 séalt, O.N. salt, 321.
 wéaltian, G. valtjan, 298.
 béald, O.N. ballr, *cf.* G. balþaba, 209.
 céald, O.N. kaldr, G. kalds, 44.
 éald, G. alds, 26.
 féaldan, O.N. falda, G. falþan, 182.
 géaldor, O.N. galdr, 104.
 héald, O.N. hallr, 71.
 héaldan, O.N. halda, G. haldan, 73.
 stéaldan, G. staldan.
 wéaldan, G. valdan, O.N. valda, 299.
 wéalcán, O.N. valka,²² 298.
 éalgian.²³

géalga, G. galga, O.N. gálgi, 105.
 céalf, O.N. kálfr, 45.
 héalf, O.N. hálfr, G. halbs, 73.
 séalfian, G. salbön, 321.
 béalu, O.N. böll, G. balva-, 209.
 éalu, O.N. öl, 27.
 féalu, O.N. fölr, 183.
 héals, O.N. hāls, G. hals, 71.
 séalh, O.H.G. salaha, O.N. selja, 320.
 Wéalh, O.H.G. Walah, O.N. in valskr, 299.
 céallian, O.N. kalla, 45.
 éall, O.N. allr, G. alls, 26.
 féallan, O.N. falla, 183.
 géalla, O.N. gall, O.H.G. galla, 103.
 héall, O.N. höll, 70.
 stéall, O.N. stallr, 341.
 héalm, O.N. hālmr, 70.
 séalma, O.S. salma.²⁴

Before *h* and *h* + consonant :

éah, O.N. ā, G. ahva, O.S. aha, 10.
 genéah, G. ganah, 157.
 séah, G. sahv, 315.
 þéah, O.N. þā and þō, 127.
 éax, G. aqizi, 8.
 féax, O.N. fax, 170.
 léax, O.N. lax, 261.
 séax, O.N. sax, O.S. sahs, 315.
 wéaxan, O.N. vaxa, 281.
 éahta, O.N. ātta, G. ahtau, 11.
 hléahtor, O.N. hlātr, O.H.G. hlahtar, 87.
 méaht,²⁵ G. mahti, 227.
 méaht, also miht,²⁶ G. maht, 226.
 néaht,²⁷ G. nahti, O.N. nātt, 158.
 ombéaht,²⁸ G. andbahta-, 16.

Breaking occurs in the preterits
 of the following O.G. strong
 verbs, class I. c :

béalg, O.H.G. balch.²⁹
 swéalh, O.N. svalg, 364.

²⁴ Certainly O.G.; *cf.* σέλιμα, 320.

²⁵ Also miéht and miht, umlaut.

²⁶ And méahte, also mihte (G. mahta, the 2d sing. pres., and pret. of maeg), have *i*, after the analogy of the umlauted noun.

²⁷ Also niéht and niht, umlaut.

²⁸ Also ombiéht and ombiht, umlaut.

²⁹ Not East Germanic, but certainly O.G.; *cf.* Prussian balg-nas, 208.

²¹ Certainly O.G.; *cf.* Latin, porcus, 178.

²² The O.E. verb is strong; the O.N. weak.

²³ Certainly O.G.; *cf.* G. alhs, and ἀρκέω.

héalp, G. halp, 73.
swéalt, O.N. svalt, 363.
swéall, O.N. svall, 363.
géald, G. -gald, 105.
féalh, G. falh, 181.

béarg, G. barg, 206.
hwéarf, G. hvarb, 93.
swéarf, O.N. svarf, 363.
wéarð, G. varð, 294.
wéarp, G. varp, 295.

Before *w* the breaking was *ēa*, not *éa*; for strong preterits so formed have passive participles like verbs with preterits in *ēa*. These are: *cēaw*, cf. Church Slavonic *zivati*, Fick, II. 351; *hrēaw*, cf. *κρού-ω*, *κρο-αίν-ω*, Fick, I. 32, 539; and, perhaps *brēaw*, cf. *βρί-ω*, *de-fon-tum*, Fick, I. 696; Schmidt, *Vocalismus*, II. 269. These strong verbs are unfortunately not present in East Germanic; but the type occurs in G. *bliggvan*, preterit *blaggv*. In other cases of breaking before *w*, the East Germanic has either *av*, which in O.N. becomes *ā*, or *aggv*, O.N. *ögg*, and this in West Germanic became *auw* = O.E. *ēaw*. In the same way that *éo* came to be used for *éa*, we have *ēo* for *ēa* in *ēowe*, O.H.G. *awi*, G. *avi-str*, 29, and in *hrēow*, O.N. *hrār*, 84. The following O.G. words also show this breaking in O.E.:

dēaw, O.N. dögg, 146.
fēawe, O.N. fāir, G. favai, 183.
glēaw, O.N. glöggr, 112.

hēawan, O.N. höggva, 57.
hnēaw, O.N. hnöggr, 81.
strēaw, also strēow, O.N. strā, 346.

Breaking is never found except under these conditions. In good Mss. it is rarely omitted. The only O.G. words in which it is usually omitted are noticed in 1 and 3.

5. Contraction of O.G. *a* with a following nasal + fricative or aspirate to *ō*, and of O.G. *a* with a following *h* + vowel to *ēa*, are regular in O.E. An *anh* + vowel becomes *ō*. Sometimes *g* is treated in the same way as *h*. The instances of this contraction are:

O.G. *an* = *ō*:

ōs, G. Ansi-, O.N. āss, 18.
gōs, O.N. gās, O.H.G. gans, 99.
ōder, G. anþar, O.N. annarr, 16.
sōð, O.N. sannr, 318; cf. Skt. *sant*.
tōð, G. tanþus, O.N. tōnn, 113.
brōhte, G. brāhta; the nasal is found in the pres. *bringan*.
þōhte, G. þāhta, pres. *þincan*.
hōh, O.N. in hoell = O.E. *hēla*, with *um-laut*, 59.

O.G. *anh* + vowel = *ō*:

fōn, G. fāhan; the nasal is found in the part. *fangen*, 170.
hōn, G. hāhan, O.N. hanga, 58.

There are no certainly O.G. words with *m* + fricative or aspirate following on *a*; but *sōfte*, O.H.G. *samfto*, makes it probable that *m* and *n* would be similarly treated.

O.G. *ah* + vowel = *ēa* :

fīēan, O.N. flā; *cf.* participle flaegen, 193.
 slēan, G. slahan; *cf.* participle slaegen,
 35.
 þwēan, G. þwahan; *cf.* participle þwae-
 gen, 142.
 ēa, also éah, O.N. ā, G. ahva-, 10.

O.G. *ag* + vowel = *ēa* :

bēam, G. bagms, 199.
 tēar (also téagor and tāēr), G. tagrs, O.N.
 tār, 116.
 gēan, also gān, gēn, giēn, gagn, gegn,
 geágn. See Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxvi.
 36.

6. Umlaut is the epenthesis of an O.G. *i, j*, which causes a modification of the preceding vowel from *a* or *ae* to *e*, from *ēa* to *īe* and *i* (*y*), from *ō* to *ē*, and from *ēa* to *īe* (*ȳ*). As we have seen, *e* is occasionally written *ae*; and *īe*, *ȳe* appear usually in later O.E. as *y*, *ȳ*; the umlaut is also occasionally omitted. See 3.

Umlaut of *a* occurs in the following O.G. words :

Before nasals :

benn, G. banja, 196.
 benc, O.N. bekk, O.H.G. banch, 201.
 bendan, G. bandvjan, 201.
 ende, G. andeis, 17.
 ened, O.N. önd, O.H.G. anut; *cf.* Lithuanian anti-s, 17.
 fenn, G. fanja-, 173.
 feng, O.N. fang, O.H.G. fang, 170.
 genge, O.N. gengr, O.H.G. gengi, 99.
 grennian, O.N. grenja, 109.
 hengest, O.N. hestr, O.H.G. hengist, 59.
 hlence, O.N. hlekk, 90.
 mene, O.N. men, O.S. meni, 231.
 mennisc, G. mannisks, O.N. menniskr, 230.
 scencan, O.N. skenkja, 330.
 strenge, O.N. strengr, O.H.G. strang, 348.
 þennian, G. þanian, O.N. þenja, 129.
 gremman, G. gramjan, 110.
 hlemman, O.N. hlemma, O.H.G. hlamōn, 87.
 lemman, O.N. lemja, 266.
 hlem, O.N. hlemmr, G. hlamma, 87.

Before mutes and fricatives :

hrepian, O.N. hreppa, 83.
 sceppan, also sciéppan, G. skapjan, 331.
 hebban, G. hafjan, 62.
 betra, G. batiza, 199.
 fetel, O.N. fetill, O.H.G. fazzil, 171.
 flet, O.N. flet, O.H.G. flazi, 194.
 hete, G. hatis, 60.

hwettan, O.N. hvetja, O.H.G. hwazzan, 91.
 nett, G. natja-, 160.
 bedd, G. badja-, 200.
 hnecca, O.N. hnakki, 81.
 bec and bece, O.N. bekk, O.H.G. bach, 197.
 -brec (and -braec), O.N. brak, 215.
 þeccan, O.N. þekja, O.H.G. dachjan, 127.
 ecg, O.N. egg; *cf.* Latin acies, 10.
 ege, G. agis, 12.
 gegn, O.N. gagn, M.H.G. gegen. See I. B. 5.
 hefig, O.N. höfugr, O.H.G. hebig, 62.
 efnan, O.N. efna; *cf.* G. aban-, 19.
 best, G. batists, 199.
 gest, G. gasts, 106.
 sceþþan, also sciéþþan, G. skapjan, 330.

Before single liquids :

dweljan, O.N. dvelja, O.H.G. twaljan, 155.
 hel, G. halja, 69.
 elles, G. aljis, 28.
 scel, O.N. skel, O.H.G. skala, 334.
 sele, O.N. sel, O.S. seli, 320.
 tellan, O.N. telja, O.H.G. zeljan, 120.
 bere, O.N. barr, G. in barizeina-, 202.
 berie, G. basja-, 210.
 berian, O.N. berja, O.H.G. berjan, 204.
 here, G. harjis, 65.
 mere, G. mari-, O.H.G. mari, 232.
 swerjan, G. svaran, 362.

Before <i>h, l, r, þ</i> consonant, and before <i>h</i> , we have <i>ie</i> for <i>éa</i> .	For O.G. <i>an</i> = O.E. <i>ō</i> . ēst, G. ānsti, 18. hēla, O.N. hoell, 59 : see 5. nēðan, G. nanþjan, O.N. nenna, 160.
ierfe, G. arbja, 25. mierran, G. marzjan. miere, O.N. merr, O.H.G. merha, 234. feldra, G. alþiza 26, and feldest, G. alþists. feldo, O.N. elli, O.S. eldi, O.H.G. alti, 27. iefet, O.N. ālft, O.H.G. albiz, 28. hléhhan, G. hlahjan, 87. mieht, G. mahts ; see 4. nieht, G. nahts ; see 4 ombieht, G. andbahts ; see 4.	For West Germanic <i>am</i> = O.E. <i>ō</i> . sēfte, O.H.G. samfti ; cf. sōfte, p. 77. For O.G. <i>av</i> = O.E. <i>ēaw</i> . hīege, G. havi, O.N. hey, O.H.G. houwe, 57 ; cf. hēawan. ieg-, O.N. ei, 10 ; cf. ēa, p. 78.

Umlaut occurs also in the dative singular and nominative and accusative plural of nouns whose stems end in a consonant. For instance, *mann* has *menn* in these cases ; *gōs* has *gēs* ; *tōð* has *tēð* ; and so on. In the conjugation, the 2nd and 3rd present indicative singular of class IV. usually have the umlaut of *a* to *e* and *ō* to *ē*. For example, *faran* has *ferst*, *ferð* (but also sometimes *æe* and *a* for *e*) ; *hōn* has *hēst* *hēð*. The umlaut in the inflection is, however, less active than in O.H.G. or O.N.

7. Preceding consonants exercise an influence on O.G. *a* only in the case of *w, g, c, sc, sl*. This is chronologically the last O.E. change and is in no case regularly carried out. *Wa* is contracted to *o* in the preterit of *cuman*, *com* (also *cwom*) for **cwam*, G. *qam*. The palatals *g, c, sc* (and to these we must add *sl*) could develop after them a semivocalic sound, such as is heard in N.E. *sky*, *kind*, when these are pronounced *skyai*, *kyaind*. This is expressed in O.E. by *ed* for *a* and *æe*, *eó* for *o*, *ié* for *e*, *eā* for *ā*. Occasionally we find *a* written for *ed* in words where the regular spelling would be *æe* ; but this seems to be a mere graphical error. The following O.G. words have these palatalized forms in O.E.

Before nasals :	geáp, O.N. gap, 100.
sceámu ; also scamu, scomu, sceómu, O.N. skömm, 332.	geát, also gat, O.N. gata, 98.
sceámjan, also scamjan, scomjan, sceómjan, G. skaman, 332.	geátwe, G. gatvō, 98.
sceánca, O.N. in skenkja, 330.	sceáða, also scaða, O.N. skapi, 330.
geóng, also gang, O.N. gangr, 99.	sceáðan, and, with umlaut, scedðan, sciéððan, scyððan, G. skapjan, 330.
sceánde, scand, sceónd, G. skanda.	sceácan, also scacan, O.N. skaka, 329.
Before liquids, mutes, and fricatives :	sceádu, also scaed, G. skadus.
ceáru, G. kara, O.H.G. chara, 42.	sceál, G. skal, 334.
ceárgan, G. karōn, 42.	sceáft, G. skafts, 331.
	-sceáp, O.N. sköp, 331.
	sceápen, G. skapans, 331.

sceát, G. skatts, 330.
sleác, also slaec, O.N. slakr, 358.

In the preterits :

geáf, G. gab, 100.
-geát, G. -gat, 98.

From the umlaut e :

sciél, also scel, O.N. skel, 334.

sciéppan, also sceppan, scippan, scyp-
pan, G. skapjan, 331.
sciédðan, see sceáðan.

From the final ā :

geā, G. ja-h, O.H.G. ja, 243.

Owing to a confusion of *éa* with *ed*, some words are occasionally spelled with *a* in place of the regular *éa*; thus *galdor* occurs for *géalдор*, and *galga* for *géalga*. It is sometimes doubtful on which letter the accent should be placed; for instance, in *geágn* and *giēn*; see 5, end.

8. Thus by seven processes there were successively developed from O.G. *a*, first *a* and *o*, then *ā*-final, then *ae* and the breakings *éa* (*éo*, *i*), *ēa* (*eo*). Contractions produced *ō*, *ēa*; umlaut, *e*, *ie*, *ē*, *ie*. The palatal semivowel produced *ed* (*eo*), *ié*, *eā*, and once perhaps *iē*.

No Germanic dialect, except the O.N., is as complex in its development; none is so regular. Restless energy and keen grammatical consciousness are characteristic of this period; but the catastrophe of the conquest was soon to change their character and language, and check or divert the forces, the working of which has been thus far our subject.

II. THE OLD ENGLISH *a*, ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

1. All O.E. *a*'s which can be traced to the O.G. will be found to correspond to O.G. *a*; those of more recent origin, always to West Germanic *a*; those of foreign origin, to *a* in the language from which they were taken. Examples of *a* for O.G. *a* have been given in I. B. 1. West Germanic examples are very common, but as they illustrate no new principle I omit them here.

2. The *Ormulum* is the first important literary work of the M.E. period. It is probably the manuscript of the author himself; and, as the author is a painstaking orthoepist, we may take his work with some confidence, as representing the pronunciation of his time and dialect. He distinguishes short vowels by doubling the following consonants, but it requires only the most cursory examination to see that the relations of quantity are hopelessly confused. All O.E. *a*'s in accented syllables are represented by *a* in the *Ormulum*. Examples will be given in Part III.

3. In N.E., since the spelling is not phonetic, the letters and sounds must be treated separately.

The O.E. *a* is represented in 126 words, with the spelling *a* in every case except then, when, hemp, pebble (panne, hwanne, hanep, papol), where the N.E. spelling is due to an *æ* for *a*, which appears in these words in very late O.E., and produces a secondary spelling *e* in M.E., which has now become regular.

These words are pronounced with vowel articulations, varying from the dark *a* in *swan* to the bright *a* in *lane*, — the determining power being in every case the accompanying consonants. Before all single nasals, liquids (except *r*), mutes, and fricatives, O.E. *a* is pronounced *e*. The examples are :

Before nasals :	Before mutes :	
came, cam (com).	ape, apa.	naked, nacod.
game, gamen.	gape, gapian.	rake, racian.
lame, lama.	shape, scapan.	sake, sacu.
name, nama.	taper, tapor.	shake, scacan.
same, same.	gate, gat (for geát).	snake, snaca.
shame, scamu.	hate, hatian.	stake, stacu.
tame, tama.	late, lata.	wake, wacian.
bane, bana.	mate, gemaca.	
crane, crana.	cradle, cradol.	Before fricatives :
lane, lane.	lade, hlanan.	chafer, cafor.
mane, mane.	made, macode.	crave, crafian.
vane, fana.	shade, scadu.	gave, gaf (for geáf).
wane, wanian.	wade, wadan.	grave, grafan.
	flay, flagen (part.).	behave, behafa (imv.).
Before liquids :	slay, slagen (part.).	nave, nafu.
nightingale, nihtegale.	bake, bacan.	shave, scafan.
scale, scalu.	quake, cwacian.	staves, stafas.
tale, talu.	make, macian.	bathe, baðian.

Before *r*, the vowel sound approaches more nearly to *α*, and may be represented by *ε*^α. The examples are :

care, caru (for ceáru).	hare, hara.	stare, starian.
fare, faru.	spare, sparian.	share, scaru.

Before a nasal followed by a consonant or a syllable, the pronunciation is *æ*. The examples are :

and, and.	hand, hand.	plant, plantian.
answer, andswarian	land, land.	angle, angel.
band, band.	sand, sand.	fang, fang.
brand, brand.	stand, standan.	gang, gang.
candle, candol.	strand, strand.	hang, hangen (part.).

sang, sang.	stank, stanc.	span, spann.
sprang, sprang.	thank, þancian.	than, þanne.
wrang, wrang.	anvil, anfilt.	ganet, ganot.
ancle, anclēow.	ban, bann.	lamb, lamb.
drank, dranc.	can, cann.	cram, crammian.
lank, hlanc.	began, be-gann.	dam, damm.
rank, ranc.	man, mann.	ram, ramm.
sank, sanc.	pan, panne.	swam, swamm.
shank, scanc.	ran, rann.	hammer, hamor.
shrank, scranc.		

Before $s +$ consonant the original sound of a is preserved. The examples are :

ass, assa. castle, castel. flask, flasce. last, latost.

Before absorbed g, f, w , the spelling is aw and the sound o^a . The examples are :

dawn, dagenian.	law, lagu.	saw, sage.
draw, dragan.	maw, maga.	hawk, hafoc.
gnaw, gnagan.	saw, sagu.	awl, awel.
haw, haga.		

After w any one of these sounds *may* appear as ρ , but does not always do so. Compare this with the influence of w in O.E., I. B. 7.

swan, swan. wan, wann. wander, wandrian. wash, wascan.

The following ten words do not follow the principles just given. We have ae where we should expect e in *cat*, *catt*, *crab*, *crabba*, *ashes*, *ascas*, *saddle*, *sadol*. The first three are irregular in O.E., having a for ae . The N.E. sound is due to secondary forms in ae in O.E., which would be regular. *Saddle* is unexplained; the regular pronunciation would be as in *cradle* and *naked*. We have e^a where we should expect e in *pebble*, *papol*, which is also irregular in its consonants, and is rare in O.E. and M.E. We have o^a where we should expect e in *alder*, *alor*, owing to the introduction of d ; for following ld always lowers the sound of the preceding vowel — cf. *child*, *cold*, but, *hilt*, *calf*. We have e^a , where we should expect ae , in *hemþ*, *then*, and *when*, which have already been spoken of, p. 81, and in *many*, *manig*, through the analogy of *any*, *ænig*.

III. THE MIDDLE AND NEW ENGLISH **a**.

1. In the Ormulum, a corresponds to a regularly, and is very often used for ae , $éa$, $ā$, $eā$, and less frequently for e , $āē$, $ēa$, $ēo$. The short a is distinguished from the long by the doubling of the following

consonant, but the relations of quantity are much disturbed. Examples are :

M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>a</i> .	<i>cwabb</i> , <i>cwaed</i> .	M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>āē</i> .
<i>atell</i> , <i>atol</i> .	<i>maggden</i> , <i>maegden</i> .	<i>anig</i> , <i>āenig</i> .
<i>care</i> , <i>caru</i> .	<i>fatt</i> , <i>faet</i> .	<i>mast</i> , <i>māest</i> .
<i>charig</i> , <i>carig</i> .	M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>éa</i> .	<i>slap</i> , <i>slāēp</i> .
<i>cnape</i> , <i>cnapa</i> .	<i>ald</i> , <i>éald</i> .	<i>agg</i> , <i>āēg</i> .
<i>draghenn</i> , <i>dragan</i> .	<i>axe</i> , <i>éax</i> .	<i>mannsenn</i> , <i>-māensumjan</i> .
<i>amang</i> , <i>on gemong</i> .	<i>cwaldenn</i> , <i>cwéaldon</i> .	<i>magg</i> , <i>māeg</i> .
<i>anan</i> , <i>an ān</i> (for <i>on ān</i>).	<i>fald</i> , <i>-féald</i> .	<i>tahhte</i> , <i>tāēhte</i> .
<i>ange</i> , <i>anga</i> .	<i>hald</i> , <i>-héald</i> .	<i>lasstenn</i> , <i>lāēstan</i> .
<i>band</i> , <i>band</i> .	<i>bridale</i> , <i>brýdéalu</i> .	M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ēa</i> .
<i>farenn</i> , <i>faran</i> .	<i>all</i> , <i>éall</i> .	<i>drah</i> , <i>drēah</i> .
<i>gang</i> , <i>gang</i> .	<i>callf</i> , <i>céalf</i> .	<i>chappmann</i> , <i>cēapmann</i> .
<i>hatenn</i> , <i>hatjan</i> .	<i>cwarrterrne</i> , <i>cwéartern</i> .	<i>tawwenn</i> , <i>tēawjan</i> .
<i>ladenn</i> , <i>hladan</i> .	<i>forrahht</i> , <i>forréaht</i> .	M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ēō</i> .
<i>manig</i> , <i>manig</i> .	<i>hallf</i> , <i>héalf</i> .	<i>strawwenn</i> , <i>strēowjan</i> .
<i>-ware</i> , <i>waras</i> .	<i>warrd</i> , <i>wéard</i> .	M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>e</i> .
<i>annd</i> , <i>and</i> .	M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ā</i> .	<i>aghe</i> (usually <i>egge</i>), <i>ege</i> .
<i>hannd</i> , <i>hand</i> .	<i>an</i> , <i>ān</i> .	<i>forrwarrgedd</i> , <i>-werged</i> .
<i>ganngenn</i> , <i>gangan</i> .	<i>a</i> , <i>ā</i> .	<i>marrgrote</i> , <i>meregrote</i> . ⁸⁰
<i>lanngedd</i> , <i>from lang</i> .	<i>awegg</i> , <i>āweg</i> .	<i>banncess</i> , <i>benca</i> . ⁸¹
<i>a-manng</i> , <i>on gemong</i> .	<i>abad</i> , <i>ābād</i> .	
M.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>aē</i> .	<i>gal</i> , <i>gāl</i> .	Contractions.
<i>apell</i> , <i>aedel</i> .	<i>laf</i> , <i>hlāf</i> .	<i>nafe</i> , <i>ne haebbe</i> .
<i>brasene</i> , <i>braesen</i> .	<i>lah</i> , <i>lāđ</i> .	<i>nass</i> , <i>ne waes</i> .
<i>dale</i> , <i>dael</i> .	<i>mal</i> , <i>māl</i> .	<i>narrt</i> , <i>ne éarrt</i> .
<i>daghess</i> , <i>daeges</i> (gen.).	<i>slaw</i> , <i>slāw</i> .	<i>nan</i> , <i>ne ān</i> .
<i>faderr</i> , <i>faeder</i> .	<i>lahbe</i> , <i>lāđ</i> .	
<i>shapig</i> , <i>scaedig</i> .	<i>maddmess</i> , <i>māđmas</i> .	⁸⁰ Due to French influence.
<i>affterr</i> , <i>aefter</i> .	<i>wraþbenn</i> , <i>wrāđjan</i> .	⁸¹ More likely from the Dutch
<i>allmesse</i> , <i>aelmesse</i> .	<i>ann</i> , <i>ān</i> .	<i>bank</i> .
<i>bacc</i> , <i>baec</i> .	<i>aterr</i> , <i>ātor</i> .	
<i>brass</i> , <i>braes</i> .	<i>hallghenn</i> , <i>hālgian</i> .	

2. In N.E. the letter and the sound *a* must be separately treated. I begin with the letter. This occurs in 332 O.E. words. It will be enough to give a list of these, classified according to the pronunciation and according to the consonants which follow the *a*, omitting the words which have already appeared in the list of N.E. words in II. 3. The limitations and causes of the use of the sound *a* must be examined more carefully.

N.E. *a* is pronounced *e* in 50 words (p. 81) with the spelling *a* in O.E. and also in the following 46 cases :

N.E. *a* = O.E. *æ*.
dale, dæl.
whale, hwaæl.
grave, graef.
haven, haefn.
raven, hraefn.
day, daeg.
may, maeg.
lay, laeg.
flay, from flaegen.
slay, from slaegen.
hail, haegl.
nail, naegl.
snail, snaegl.
tail, taegl.
fain, faegn.
main, maegn.
wain, waegn.

again, ongaegn.³²
brain, braegn.
maid, maegð.
acre, aecer.
acorn, aecern.
spake, spraec.
brake, braec.
blade, blaed.
hazel, haesl.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *e*.
ail, eglan.
sail, segel.
-blain, blegen.
lain, legen.
rain, regen.
thane, þegn.

³² Also pronounced *e*^a, *q. v.*

twain, twegen.
braid, bregdan.
lay, lecgan.
play, plegan.
say, secgan.
way, weg.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *éa*.
ale, éalu.
bale, béalu.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *āē*.
ate, *āēt*.
clay, clāēg.
gray, grāēg.
wave, wāēg.
lady, hlāēfdige.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *īē*.
hay, hīēge.

N.E. *a* is pronounced *e*^a in 7 words (p. 81) with O.E. *a*, and in the following 10 cases :

N.E. *a* = O.E. *æ*.
again, on gaegn.³³
said, saegde.
bare, baer (verb).
bare, baer (adj.).

fair, faegr.
ware, waer.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *e*.
lair, leger.
Thames, Temese.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *éa*.
dare, déarr.
mare, méarrh.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *āē*.
any, *āēnig*.

³³ Also pronounced *e*, *q. v.*

N.E. *a* is pronounced *ae* in 47 words (p. 81) with O.E. *a*, and in the following 59 cases :

N.E. *a* = O.E. *æ*.
ash, aesc.
aspen, aespen.
fathom, faedm.
gather, gaedrian.
hath (has, have), haefð.
wagon, waegn.
back, baec.
black, blaec.
sack, saec.
slack, slaec.
thatch, þaec.
adze, aedese.
had, haefde.
sad, saed.
shadow, scaed (also
sceád).

glad, glaed.
adder, naedre.
bladder, blaedre.
at, aet.
hat, haett.
latter, laetere.
that, þaet.
sat, saet.
saturday, saeterdaeg.
vat, faet.
gnat, gnaett.
apple, aepl.
sap, saep.
nap, hnaeppian.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *e*.
thrash, brescan.

N.E. *a* = O.E. *éa*.
arrow, éarwe.
harrow, héarwe.
marrow, méarg.
narrow, néarwe.
sparrow, spéarwa.
sallow, séalwe.
fallow, féalwe.
callow, céalwe.
mallow, méalwe.
gallows, géalga.
tallow, téalg.
salve, séalfjan.³⁴
as, éalswā.
am, éam (or éam̃).
axe, éax.

³⁴ See p. 86.

flax, fléax.	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ā</i> .	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ēa</i> .
wax, wéax.	hallow, hālgian.	chapman, cēapmann.
wax, wéaxan.		chaffer, cēapfaru.
axle, éaxl.	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>āc</i> .	
shall, sceál. ³⁵	clad, clāēded.	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ē</i> .
	ladder, hlāēder.	bramble, brēmel.
N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>éo</i> .	clammy, clāēmig.	
barrow, béorg.	spat, spāette.	
³⁵ For the original sceál.	fat, fāett.	

New English *a* is pronounced *a* in 4 words with O.E. *a*, and in 60 other cases. The lists will be found in III. 3, below.

New English *a* is pronounced *o*^a in 11 words (page 82) with *a* in O.E., and in the following 24 cases :

N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ae</i> .	halm, héalm.	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>éo</i> .
small, smael.	chalk, céalc.	dwarf, dwéorg.
water, waeter.	stalk, stéalc.	
	walk, wéalcān.	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ā</i> .
N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>éa</i> .	alderman, éaldormann.	aught, āhte.
all, éall.	swarm, swéarm.	thaw, þāwan.
fall, féall.	warm, wéarm.	
gall, géalla.	warn, wéarnian.	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ēa</i> .
hall, héall.	ward, wéard.	raw, hrēaw.
stall, stéall.	swarthy, from swéart.	straw, strēaw.
wall, wéall.	saw, séah.	

New English *a* is pronounced *ɔ* in 4 words (p. 82) with O.E. *a*, and the following 10 cases :

N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ae</i> .	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>e</i> .	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>éa</i> .
was, waes.	swallow, swelgan.	swallow, swéalwe.
what, hwaet.	wasp, wesp.	wallow, wéalwian.
watch, waecece.		salt, séalt.
		halt, héalt.
		malt, méalt.

A very slight examination is enough to show that the O.E. vowel does not determine the pronunciation in these cases, and to suggest that here, as well as in the older period, the following consonants have been the determining element. I will show this only in the case of the sound *a*, with which we are particularly concerned.

3. The N.E. sound *a* represents O.E. vowels in 67 words, as follows :

N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>a</i> .	N.E. <i>a</i> = O.E. <i>ae</i> .	bath, baed̥.
ass, asse.	after, aeft̥.	path, paed̥.
castle, castel.	chaff, caef (and ceáf).	father, faeder.
flask, flasce.	craft, craeft̥.	rather, hraeðer. ³⁶
last, latost.	shaft, scaeft̥.	

³⁶ Also pronounced *oe*.

grass, graes.	harp, héarpe.	barm, béorm.
glass, glaes.	sharp, scéarp.	bark, béorcan.
brass, braes.	half, héalf.	dark, déorc.
fast, faest.	calf, céalf.	
mast, maest.	psalm, pséalm.	N.E. a = O.E. íe.
harvest, hacrfest.	salve, séalfian. ⁸⁷	mar, mierran.
arch, aerce.	laughter, hléahtor.	yard, gíerd.
cart, caert.		
alms, aelmesse.	N.E. a = O.E. e.	N.E. a = O.E. ā.
N.E. a = O.E. éa.	barley, from bere.	lark, lāwerce.
are, éaron.	marsh, mersc.	ask, āscian.
arse, éars.	barn, bere-aern.	wrath, wrāð.
yarn, géarn.	N.E. a = O.E. éo.	N.E. a = O.E. āē.
arm, éarm.	tar, téoru.	ant, āēmette.
harm, héarm.	star, stéorra.	last, lāēst.
ark, éarc.	far, féorr.	blast, blāēst.
stark, stéarc.	hart, héort.	
spark, spéarc.	heart, héorte.	N.E. a = O.E. ēo.
mark, méarc.	carve, céorfan.	darling, dēorling.
park, péarruc.	starve, stéorfan.	farthing, fēorðing.
hard, héard.	hearth, héorð ⁸⁸	
yard, géard.		
art, éart.	⁸⁷ Also pronounced æ, p. 84.	N.E. a = O.E. īe.
tart, téart.	⁸⁸ Also pronounced oē.	hearken, hīercnian.

From this list it appears that this sound is represented by *a* in every case but three, where we have *ea*; the frequent cases of *ai* (pron. *e*), and the *au* in *laughter*, owe the second part of the digraph to the O.E. *g* and are to be reckoned as spellings with simple *a*.

A comparison of these words with the other words of O.E. origin in N.E. shows that the sound *a* is used:

i. For O.E. *a* regularly before *s* + consonant in monosyllables, but not in dissyllables (*ashes*), nor after *w* (*wash*).

ii. For O.E. *ae* regularly before a final fricative, fricative + consonant, *r* + consonant, silent *l* + nasal, but not before medial fricatives, except in *father* and *rather*, nor always after *w* (*was*). Exceptions are: *hath*, *ash*, and the unaccented *-ness* in compounds like *Shoebury-ness*.

iii. For O.E. *éa* before *r* + consonant and *l* + a labio-nasal or fricative, except *beard*, *earn*, *fern*, *halm*. It is used for *éa* also in *laughter* and *are*.

iv. For O.E. *e*, *íe*, *īe* before *r* + consonant exceptionally by analogy of the numerous words with O.E. *éa* before *r* + consonant.

v. For O.E. *éo* in monosyllables before *r* + consonant except *rl*,

rn, *rð*, which have *o*[°] (*churl*, *learn*, *earth*) and after *w* (*swerve*, *work*, *dwarf*, *sword*). The only exception is *birch*. *Hearth*, which should be pronounced *o*[°], is occasionally pronounced *a*.

vi. For O.E. long vowels *ā*, *æ* (and *ie*, see iv.), only when these are treated according to the analogy of the corresponding short vowels. Thus *ask* falls into the analogy of O.E. words with *a* + *s* + consonant; *last* and *blast* follow *fast*, *mast*, and the like; *lark* follows *ark*, *spark*, and others with *éa*. *Wrath* owes its *a* sound to the *r* (cf. *wroth*, where the regular sound appears). *Ant* is an isolated contraction. *Darling* and *farthing* owe their sound to the *r*, but compare *forty* and *thirteen*, which are also dissyllables, with *ēo* in O.E.

It thus appears that this sound is due directly or indirectly to *r* in forty cases, to *l* in five cases, to fricatives in twenty-one cases, and once to a contraction.

But *r* not only produced the sound *a* from vowels; it assumed this vowel sound itself, in some parts of England and the United States, wherever it was final or medial before a consonant, though *r* and *rr* before vowels always preserved the consonant sound. This new vowel coalesces with the preceding vowels in such words as *mar*, *star*, *yard*, and is suffixed to the preceding vowel in such words as *sheer* (*shia*), *hare* (*he^aa*), *wire* (*waia*), *four* (*fo^aa*), *hir* (*ho^aa*), *heard* (*ho^aad*). Sometimes the vocalized *r* forms a syllable, as, for instance, in *shower* (*shaua*), *ever* (*e^ava*). When carelessly spoken this vocalized *r* has the diphthongal sound *o^aa*, while in many parts of the United States and of England it has preserved its consonantal character.

4. The tendency of the language in the New English time is not merely a continuation and completion of the process we have already seen in the Ormulum. The tone-lowering had modified in M.E. almost all the classes of words in which it appears in N.E.; but the tone-raising which has affected so large a majority of the O.E. *a*-sounds in N.E. did not begin till much later, for there is no trace of it in Orm. The influence of the consonants is therefore in some cases earlier and more lasting than in others. Those consonants which have exercised the strongest and most prolonged power have usually affected the entire vowel system in a manner analogous to that in which they modify *a*. Thus *r* and *h* attract all vowels, light and dark, toward *a*; *r* + consonant and *l* + consonant usually have a lowering and blunting effect on preceding vowels; fricatives lower the tone of bright vowels and blunt the articulation

of the darker ones ; mutes and nasals agree in their tendency to lower light vowels, to raise dark vowels, and to blunt the articulation of the extreme vowels at either end of the scale. The cause of the modification of the vowel sounds in these cases lies in the relation of the position of the vocal organs when sounding the vowel to that which they must assume to utter the consonant. In speaking rapidly, the former, which may vary, will adapt itself to the latter, which is relatively constant. The liquids and the aspirate *h* have a near relation to *a*, which accounts for their influence ; less marked, but of the same nature, is the power of the fricatives ; while the mutes, being further removed from relationship with the vowels, usually blunt the preceding vowels and assimilate them to the vowel articulation from which the mutes are least removed.

In O.E. the general lines of development are similar, except that epenthesis played a most important part, and that the influence of nasals was more distinctly lowering than now. The vowel of the syllable which follows the accent has also some times the power of assimilating the root-vowel, or at least of bringing it nearer to its own sound, which is allied to the form of epenthesis called umlaut. It is difficult to account for these O.E. elements in phonetic growth unless we take them to be a reflection in language of the restless spirit which sees that which is to come as though it were already present, and, while it utters one vowel, "o'erleaps itself and falls on t'other."

V. — *On the Use of the Aorist Participle in Greek.*

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UNTIL the present century's historical and comparative study of the Greek language, and even nearly to the middle of this century, it was held that the aorist was the absolute preterit, the expression of a past which is conceived as a unit. The aorist in all its moods, optative, infinitive, and imperative as well as participle and indicative, was thought to refer properly to past time, as truly as does the perfect tense to a completed state or action. In the indicative the aorist was recognized in its full peculiarity.